/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite [551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which • [127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chikiajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The [361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land [368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621 Even though at present there are persons from one culibal 551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say [614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 [170] [181] This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

• 127 423 613 614 According to a document dated 1861, which I found in the possession of the Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichílok, Tomás Gomez Ichílok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichílok, Miguel Gómez Ichílok, Diego Gómez Ichílok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichílok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichílok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

000 throughout the region. There are also com-
596 pound families in which other members, married or widowed, from the same patrilineal nucleus, plus their children, share the same house or the same kitchen.

[127] Table 3, taken from J. Nash (1959, p. 2), was compiled from data gathered in Oxchuc parajes, where we had our headquarters.

Of the 16 extended families, 13 are formed by married sons living in the parents' house; the married daughters living with their parents derive from the custom that the son-in-law spends a period of service in his father-in-law's house during the first months of marriage.

592 These types of family composition continue even in acculturated communities like Aguacatenango. According to B. Metzger (1959, p. 84), of the 174 homes that constitute this village, 121 are nuclear and 53 are extended families; of the latter, 15 are formed by parents living with their married sons and 10 are formed by widows living with an unmarried son. There are only two instances of parents who live in an unmarried daughter's house. Married brothers very seldom live in the same house.

000 Though the nuclear family predominates,
[P 216-C]

•127
423
613
614

/Document of Lands of the Gómez Ichilok

On account of the petition of the citizens Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gómez Ichilok, another Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, another Domingo Gómez Ichilok, another Diego Gómez Ichilok and his son Diego Gómez Ichilok, and lastly his minor son, Manuel Gómez Ichilok, and as formerly was the custom in this town that, according to the brothers of one family, a piece of common land is marked off for them so that in the future there will be no disputes with the neighbors as is usually the case, we the Governors, Auxiliaries, Justices, Scribes and Witnesses, give the paraje /place/ called Tzajalchén for them to put their landmarks on and to give them the possession that corresponds to them according to their number.

"Where began to stand the first landmark Busulton Pacton which is on the road to the right; 2nd landmark Oxloton which is on the road; 3rd landmark Tzovilton; 4th landmark Tequelton, landmark with Pedro Moreno; 5th landmark Yolilnelej Lomchen; 6th landmark in accord with Juan Gómez Bet and Martin Sanchez Chelap is called the line Teguel Cante which is also the line with Manuel Chinbak; 7th landmark Tequelton only line with Marcos Hernandez López and Diego Lopez and Diego Giron Vásquez; 8th and last landmark Basulton Pacton.

"Having left all the bordering neighbors content, offering both that in the future they will not have the least disagreement, as they are natives of their own town, under the judgment that if anyone is guilty in upsetting the order in which it has been left, the injured party will put in the cognizance of the Judge to investigate it and to apply the punishment that it deserves, for whose security the witnesses are Lorenzo Ichilok, Martin Solel, Miguel Gómez Ichilok and Governors Diego Méndez Chizna and Nicolas Jiménez Acux. For the witnesses and Governors who do not know how to sign their names. April 12 of 1861 and as witness and scribe Alonso Santis./

[P.225-C]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

•127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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127 there is contemporary evidence of this structure in the present day organization of other similar Tzeltal-Tzotzil villages (see bibliography).

Landa (1928:98-99) suggested that the Mayans had a unilateral social organization based on the presence of name groups, exogamy, and patrilineal inheritance. Eggan (1934) indicated the possibility that the Mayans had cross-cousin marriage from his work with kinship terminology. Miles, working with the evidence about sixteenth century Pokom-Maya, reconstructed the kinship system as being strongly classificatory, with linearity receiving "scant but important attention in the terminology" (1957: 756), and he also reports the presence of patrilineages. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1952) reported that the Tzotzil of Chenalho and Chalchihuitan, and the Tzeltal of Cancuc and Oxchuc had a Bifurcate Merging type terminology, with "one term for sibling and parallel cousin, another term for cross-cousin, with overriding of generations." Murdock, on the basis of this and other evidence, suggested that the Mayans had a patrilineal social organization and that "although the fact appears to have escaped general attention, both ancient and modern sources clearly attest the presence of exogamous patrilineages everywhere in the lowlands (of the Mayan area) with the single possible exception of the Chorti, and true exogamous patri-sibs have survived among such highland tribes as the Cakchiquel, Mam, Quiche and Tzeltal." "The Tzeltal evolved Omaha terminology and, thus, acquired a social system of the most fully developed patrilineal sort" (Murdock, 1955:95).

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•127 (114) Although Murdock's statement takes a position which is not fully supported by the historical evidence, all information, however incomplete, points in the same direction.

127 611 Baroco (1959b), working with the Register of Civil Marriages of the state of Chiapas from 1880 for Chanal, and the censuses of the same village for 1957, noticed that several patrilineal inherited Indian names were attached to a single Spanish surname. The Indian name functioned in regulating marriages. Moreover, through some of the realignments (in time depth) of name groups, he pointed out that the fusion and fission of the lineal segments could be traced historically, not only for one village, but for several villages sharing the same lineage names and suspected clans (represented by the Spanish name groups).

In another unpublished article, Baroco (1959a) indicated that according to the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, including a book of baptisms, patrilineal name groups were associated with the naming of children with calendrical personal names, that is, names of the Mayan calendar, a custom reported in all early Mayan sources (see Barrera Vazguez, Ed. 1948; Recinos, A., Ed. 1950; Ximenez, Ed. 1857).

Contemporary evidence shows that several communities in the Chiapas highlands still preserve a strong patrilineal bent. Localized agnatic lineages and clans have been reported for Oxchuc (Villa Rojas, 1945; Siverts, H., 1960) where they have both ritual political and land-tenure regulatory functions, and Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes, 1952). Patrilineally inherited name groups with restricted corporate functions are present in practically

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly accul-
611 turated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).
128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally in-
611 herited name groups and other slight indications of the previously hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

591 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[613] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

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128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
128 592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 114 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have
• 127 invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same